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Excerpts From  
SUKARNO'S INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH  
(17 August 1964)

Do not think that Sukarno is a man who follows some occult kind of science. No, when I predict something it is based on my understanding of the objective laws of social history. If there is a specific science I follow, this is because I know the message of the people's suffering, because I know speculation, because I know a most important science, namely, Marxism.

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I am a friend of the nationalists, but of the revolutionary nationalists. I am a friend of the religious group, but of the revolutionary religious group. I am a friend of the communists, because the communists are a revolutionary people.

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My viewpoint is that anyone who opposes imperialism is objectively a revolutionary man. There are intellectuals beside proletarians in our independence struggle. There are princely elements beside peasants. But as long as they oppose imperialism they are revolutionaries. Likewise, this is the situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Emperor Haile Selassie stands shoulder to shoulder with Modibo Keita and Ben Bella, with Nkrumah, with Jomo Kenyatta, with Jamal Abd an-Nasir, and Fidel Castro. So is Sukarno, who is the comrade-in-arms of Ayub Khan and Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the comrade-in-arms of Ne Win and Macapagal, the comrade-in-arms of Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung, the comrade-in-arms of Norodom Sihanouk and Kim Il-sung.

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Thanks to this consistent struggle for principle we liberated West Irian last year. However, Korea's West Irian and Vietnam's West Irian, namely the southern part of their countries, are still not free. Recently I said to Professor Nguyen Ding Binh of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front that I was praying that the Vietnamese people would soon be able to reunify their country in an atmosphere of independence.

We also thoroughly condemn the present U.S. attack on North Vietnam. I also pray that Korea will be reunified in independence.

However, with the liberation of West Irian, is the Indonesian Republic free from the imperialists' threats? No, far from it. Malaysia is still positioned in front of our door. Malaysia still stands in front of the house of the Indonesian Republic like the watchdog of imperialism. Members of military pacts around us also recently started to talk about our affairs without our permission. The imperialists are openly encircling us. However, we are not intimidated; we are not afraid. Yes, brothers, do not be intimidated, do not be afraid. Go on, continue to go on, even if Malaysia is supported by 10 imperialists.

Whether or not a country is independent can be seen not only from its economic or political structure, but also from the quality of its authorities. There were already signs that the Congo was independent, but now we see Tshombe in power there. In Indonesia in the past we had Kartalegawa, Doctor Mansur. What crazy man will believe that such a country is independent?

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There is still another example. There are many French Government attitudes with which I do not agree. However, whatever people say, it must be admitted that General de Gaulle follows a policy which is realistic. The opening of diplomatic relations with the CPR, his proposal to neutralize South Vietnam, and his other initiatives demonstrate a different way of thinking, an unconventional way of thinking.

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The imperialists have launched all kinds of schemes. They overthrew the Goulart Government in Brazil; they have been attacking Cuba continuously; they have seated Tshombe in the Congo; they are trying to pour a quarter of a million foreign troops into southeast Asia. However, all this is nothing but a countercurrent which will be only temporary and will not be able to withstand the force of the main current. It will be carried away, it will be pulled down. This is as certain as that the sun will rise in the morning.

They did it to Brazil. They did it to Cuba. They did it to the Congo. They did it to southeast Asia. I warn the imperialists, all imperialists, do not touch the territory of the Indonesian Republic! Do not touch. The Indonesian Government and people will not allow the enemy to step on even an inch of its soil! Do not try to disturb the Indonesian Banteng! (Wild bull, Indonesian symbol of courage and determination--ed.)

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These elements of progressiveness can be found in all the masses of Indonesian society. They can be found in religion, in our nationalism, in our socialist-communism. Is it not so? Religion calls for freedom and justice. Indonesian nationalism calls for socio-nationalism and socio-democracy. Our socialist-communism calls for freedom and socialism. Thus, all three contain the elements of progressiveness. For this reason, Nasakom is a progressive necessity of the Indonesian revolution.

Whoever is against Nasakom is not progressive. Whoever is against Nasakom is in fact crippling the revolution, is hampering the revolution. Whoever is against Nasakom is not sufficiently revolutionary; he is in fact a historic counter-revolutionary.

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None of the Western countries--which are indeed leaders in the technical field--now have great men who are also originators of ideas. In the period of the rise of capitalism they had such leaders as Disraeli, Bismarck, and Gambetta. In the period of the decline of capitalism they had such leaders as Mussolini and Hitler.

Now, in this era of the revolution of man, they have no noteworthy leaders. They have no leaders with conceptions, they have no leaders with a capital L. They have no originators of ideas whose voices should be heard by peoples of all races, colors, and creeds.

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Brothers, I am confident that our revolution has now become a rock of reality to both friend and foe. I am confident that our revolution is no longer being belittled or ignored, or regarded as a madness by the enemy. Therefore, I am not surprised that the enemy increasingly strives to break our revolution, to encircle our revolution with all kinds of trickery and subversion, and increasingly strives to discredit our revolution. I am confident that at this moment all ears of the enemy are cocked to hear the speech of the great leader of Indonesia today.

Therefore, for the benefit of these enemy ears, I say here again what I have repeatedly said: Go to hell with your "Indonesia going to economic collapse" (phrase quoted in English--ed.). Go to hell; your talk does not affect us. We regard your talk as the barking of a dog. For years, you have said that Indonesia under Sukarno's leadership would disintegrate, would collapse, but your predictions have proved to be incorrect.

Only last year they predicted that Indonesia would experience an economic collapse in the beginning of 1964. The beginning of 1964 came, but Indonesia did not collapse.

Now, they are again saying that in October this year, Indonesia will collapse. No, Indonesia will not collapse, God willing, Indonesia will not collapse.

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You are my people, the Indonesian people. You are engaged in a revolution at home as well as a revolution to change the condition of all mankind. How persevering you are, and how tough you are. With a people like you, it is a pleasure to convey to all the world your battlecry: freedom, socialism, a new world, and to thunder in the ears of all imperialists in the world: Here I am, where are you? And I can repeat what I once said abroad, namely, that "the Indonesian people can take everything for the sake of revolution." (quoted in English--ed.)

Brothers, you often confer exalted titles on me. You even appointed me great leader of the revolution. Conversely, I thank God that I have been appointed to lead the struggle of the Indonesian people, a people with a great spirit, a people who are as tough as steel, a people who possess an extraordinary resistance, a people who are friendly and gentle, but who, when intimidated or attacked, can rage in anger like a bull.